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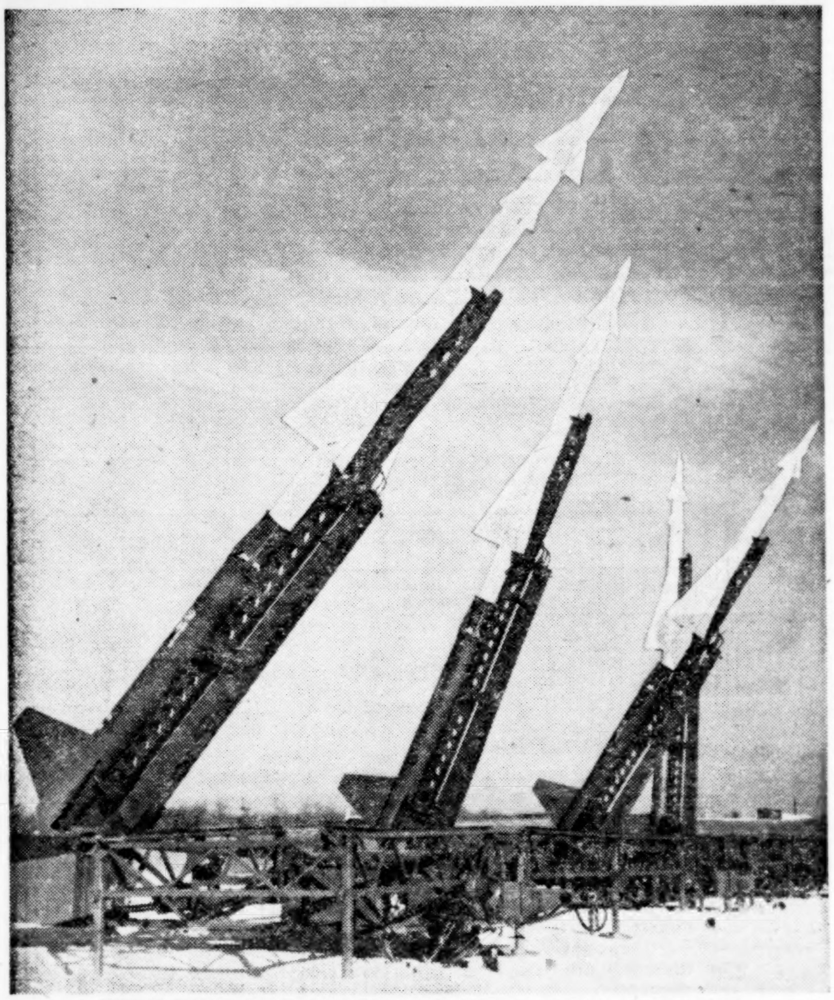

WITH THESE DEFENDERS WE DON'T NEED AN ENEMY
The military brass assured everybody that the Nike guided missiles (like those above) which now ring our cities are dangerous only to our enemies. They said it was impossible for them to go off accidentally. But on May 22 eight of them exploded just 20 miles from Manhattan. Ten men died and three were seriously injured. Fragments showered over a four-mile circle.

DE GAULLE'S SHADOW OVER FRANCE

Labor fights back as dictatorship menaces life of the republic

By Kumar Goshal

EVENTS IN FRANCE last week seemed to move with the inevitability of a Greek tragedy, bringing the government deeper in the shadow of Gen. Charles de Gaulle, threatening to spread the Algerian war to Tunisia and Morocco and confronting Washington with another "agonizing reappraisal" of its foreign policy.

Gen. de Gaulle's hand was strengthened on May 25 when top French and NATO naval commander Adm. Philippe-Marie Auboyneau and the local governments of the islands of Corsica off the Riviera coast and Tahiti and New Caledonia in the Pacific embraced the Cross of Lorraine.

Simultaneously, Algeria's military commander Gen. Raoul Salan announced that French residents and administrators in France's West and Equatorial African colonies had set up pro-de Gaulle committees of public safety.

On May 26, as workers went on a general strike, Gen. De Gaulle announced that he was forming a "republican government." Premier Pierre Pflimlin denied he had been consulted by de Gaulle. It was freely predicted that the man who calls himself a new Joan of Arc would soon usher in what was being euphemistically called the "Fifth Republic." Others expected it would be more like the coming of the "Fourth Napoleon."

'PEACEFUL' TAKE-OVER? Within the government of Premier Pierre Pflimlin, former Premier Antoine Pinay—whose Independent Conservative Party has four ministers in the Pflimlin cabinet—was reported to have sounded out de Gaulle about a "peaceful" take-over from the Pflimlin government. Georges Bidault defected from Pflimlin's party and plugged for de Gaulle. Guy Mollet, head of the Socialist Party, followed his earlier criticism of de Gaulle with conciliatory genuflections before the Algerian generals.

In Algeria, the military junta consolidated its position by setting up a "triumvirate" to coordinate "civil and political affairs." It comprised paratroop commander Gen. Jacques Massu, former Moslem government official Mohammed Sid Cara and Algeria's former Governor General and de Gaulle agent Jacques Soustelle, who had fled from France. The officers in revolt also launched an air attack on Tunisia.

President Habib Bourguiba ordered total mobilization of the Tunisian armed forces and threatened to charge France with aggression in the UN Security Council. On May 25, Tunisia's Ambassador Mongi Slim flew to the UN from Washington to consult UN Secy. Gen. Dag Hammarskjold.

PUZZLING ROLE: Observers were puz-

(Continued on Page 9)

WHY ARE THE NATIVES RESTLESS?

Washington re-examines its foreign policy

By Elmer Bendiner

"WE'RE PUNCH DRUNK." That was the way an influential member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last week summed up Washington reaction to the world-wide anti-U.S. explosions.

The first reaction—that it was all a Communist plot—quickly gave way to the realization that the world had real grievances against the U.S. Most official comment paid lip service to the theory of history that requires a villain and added that the grievances had been "exploited" by Communists, but even Vice President Nixon saw beyond the barrage of fruit that hit him and understood that people might have a reason to be angry.

The dawn of reason—in a capital which for a decade has viewed all events in terms of an insidious plot—resulted in two investigations. To keep them from the taint of politics in an election year they are to be called "studies." Much of the impetus for these moves came from Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) chairman of a subcommittee on Latin America.

A LONG LOOK: His six-man group was preparing an inquiry into the whole field of U.S.-Latin American relations, economic and political. It will probably run for several months and continue hearings even after Congress adjourns.

At Morse's insistence, the full Foreign Relations Committee, chaired by Sen. Theodore F. Green (D-R.I.), agreed on a long-term examination of the world position of the U.S. This would be slower in getting under way. As a tentative first step the Committee set up a four-man team to "explore the possibilities" of such an inquiry.

Morse, a long-standing critic of Nixon, had called the South American tour a "disaster" and charged the State Dept. officials "knew it couldn't be a good-will trip but a trouble-causing trip." When Nixon supporters charged that the inquiry was "political," Morse offered to step down from the chairmanship but agreed to stay after his subcommittee offered him a vote of confidence.

THE CONTRAST: Underlying official Washington anxiety about Latin America was news of the apparently successful and very quiet tour of Latin America just concluded by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister V. V. Kuznetsov who last week wound up his travels with a glittering party at the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City.

Kuznetsov had followed Nixon's footsteps all around South America and if there were no parades for him neither were there any bitter complaints. And nobody spat. He said he carried with him an offer to sell Latin America "a full selection of industrial installations and machinery necessary for their industrialization." The Morse subcommittee

(Continued on Page 9)

In this issue

TROUBLE IN LEBANON
The background . . . . . . p. 3
FOUR YEARS AFTER
Jimcrow still rules . . . . . p. 4
DEPRESSION CURES
Win with Wheaties . . . p. 5
CANADA LABOR
For a new party . . . . p. 6
N. Y. CONFERENCE
Text of call . . . . p. 7
THE LONESOME ROAD
The Negro in America . . p. 8

LAMONT, DuBOIS, KENT CALL ON NEW YORKERS

To confer on independent socialist ticket

A CALL "to conscientious people of our State" to a conference in New York City June 13-14-15 to consider running independent-socialist candidates for U. S. senator, governor and other statewide offices has been issued by a group of New Yorkers including Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Corliss Lamont, Rockwell Kent and Russ Nixon, legislative repesentative of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union.

Other initiators of the Call (see text, P. 7) include Mrs. Muriel McAvoy, whose late husband, Clifford T. McAvoy, was a member of the New York City La Guardia administration and 1953 American Labor Party candidate for mayor; Joyce Cowley, Socialist Workers Party mayoralty candidate in 1957; Dr. Howard Selsam, philosopher and director of the Jefferson School of Social Science until its closing last year; Dr. Otto Nathan, economist and executor of the state of the late Albert Einstein; Richard De Haan, chairman of the newly-formed Young Socialist Alliance; George Stryker, Long Island Socialist leader; Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, author, lecturer and teacher; John T. McManus, general manager of NATIONAL GUARDIAN; and Henry H. Abrams, executive vice-chairman of the N. Y. State American Labor Party which went out of existence in 1956.

LONG-NEEDED IMPETUS: A communication accompanying the Call describes the action as the result of meetings early this year of a group of individuals including "independents and leaders and members of various organized socialist groups." The initiating sponsors express the belief that "a united independent-socialist ticket in New York State can provide the long-needed impetus for a revival and reinvigoration of independent political action not only in our state but elsewhere throughout the country." The initiating statement continues:

"We believe that thousands of people in our state would rally to the support of such a campaign. We believe that this

(Continued on Page 7)

THE MAIL BAG

A mother's fears

CHICAGO, ILL.

Unlike millions of mothers who enjoyed a happy Mothers' Day visiting with their children and grandchildren in the comforts of their homes, I, at the age of 73 years, had a most trying day traveling 1,100 miles to the Federal penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kan., in order to visit my son, Gilbert Green.

Once again this two-hour visit enabled me to see my loved one and to touch his hand.

When I arrived home that evening and listened to Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas explain how our Constitution guarantees the freedom of speech and the rights of minority opinions, I asked tearfully why then should my son spend years behind bars for nothing more than political dissent?

Won't each one of you please help me by asking the President to free my son?

Mrs. Elizabeth Green

Back to Nero

LOMBARD, ILL.

Some remark that we have "freedom of choice." Of course we do. The Christians at the time of Nero had such freedom as is cleverly brought out in Shaw's **Androcles and the Lion**; all they had to do was to drop a pinch of incense on the heathen altar and escape persecution. This freedom of choice is not the freedom we idealize. A demand to conform "or else" is not freedom.

N. W. Sherwood

Silly debate

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Who'll bury who,
Is a question outdated;
If H-bombs fall
We'll all be cremated.

L.G.

Still fighting fires

WESTFIELD, N.Y.

I am glad to learn that Tom Scribner of Ft. Seward, Calif., is making progress with his **Lumberjack News**. Those timber workers have shown a lot of life for years. During World War I they wrung many concessions from the bosses when other workers couldn't do much. After that war I chanced to meet a business man from Washington. I told him of the accusations in eastern papers that the IWW set the forest fires. He told me the IWW's were the best fire-fighters we had out there.

W. S. Bennett

Brotherly love

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

The situation here in the City of Brotherly Love is deplorable. I'm speaking particularly of the intimidation of Negroes by the Police Dept. On April 25 a Korean student, on the way to mail a letter, was waylaid and killed. Eleven Negro youths were accused of the crime. They confessed to the police, but who knows the whole story of why they confessed? Remember the Trenton Six case!

The parents of the victim wrote the Mayor and asked him to show leniency toward the 11 and not to kill them because the troubles of youth were worldwide. They said they were getting together a fund for them for their education when they have served their sentence.

The Police Dept. has issued an edict that whenever more than two people are gathered together after 12 p.m. on the street, they will be searched and dispersed.

You can see that it is vitally important that the people get together and demand a fair trial, a recall of the curfew, the ceasing of inflammatory press statements and editorials; public retraction of the D.A.'s call for the death sentence and a postponement of the trial until it can be held in a non-hysterical atmosphere. Those are just a few minimum things needed to be done to correct the damage already created.

Name Withheld

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

REXBURG, Ida.—An Idaho college professor . . . operates on the motto: "A ton of wheat in every home."

Carl H. Jacob . . . is president of a newly incorporated firm called Operation Survivatom set up to supply Idahoans with every need for an emergency.

The professor, who says 50 U.S. cities could be wiped out and agricultural production could come to a halt due to a thermonuclear attack, wants to get everyone enthusiastic about storing one to two years supply of grains, dehydrated foods and kits, stoves and other disaster needs in their homes.

"As many as 1,000,000 refugees could come into Idaho in the event of an attack; we must be able to take care of them," Jacob adds.

—**Spokane Review**, Apr. 30

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Leonard H. Butterfield, Coeur D'Alene, Ida.

Before it ends us

CHICAGO, ILL.

If U.S. possession of nuclear bombs has prevented the Russians from attacking us, then it is as sensible to suppose that Russian possession of nuclear bombs has prevented the U.S. from attacking them. We can't have it one way and not the other. And if we do have it both ways, as we must, we can have it neither, reasonably speaking.

If nuclear weapons testing goes on, several things are bound to happen, none of them good. First, additional countries will get into the act. Some of these nations may turn out to be even more irresponsible with A- and H-bombs at their disposal than they are now, without. Second, more powerful weapons such as a super hydrogen bomb and a cobalt bomb will be developed, and, according to the logic of those who would test on and on and on, these too will have to be "tested." The resulting contamination of the whole earth would be many times worse than the dangerous effects we are now experiencing. Third, the most frightening result of allowing nuclear weapons testing to go on is that such testing will step up the nuclear arms race itself, which is the surest road to World War III.

In the name of life itself, we Americans have got to call on our government as never before to end nuclear weapons testing before it ends us.

Harold E. Bernhardt, Jr.

Arab-Israel views

TAKOMA PARK, MD.

Cedric Belfrage recently stated: "It must be made known that Arabs have a strong case in simple justice"—apparently regarding the return of the refugees to Israel.

The Arab refugee problem is a direct result of the war of aggression launched by the Arab states against Israel in 1947-48. Since the Arab governments have created this tragic problem it follows that the world community has a right to expect their full assistance in its settlement. This is all the more compelling when we recall that the Arab governments, in their vast lands, command all the resources and conditions which would enable them to give the refugees a new and better life.

Seen in its relations to other refugee problems it is obvious that the Arab one has been unnecessarily prolonged. Approximately 40 million refugees have been created by military and political conflicts since 1945. In no case except that of the Arab refugees, amounting to less than 2% of the whole, has the international community shown such constant responsibility and provided such extensive aid. In nearly every other case a solution was found by the integration of the refugees into their host countries.

Among them were 9,000,000 Koreans, 8,500,000 Hindus leaving Pakistan for India and 6,-500,000 Moslems leaving India for Pakistan, 13,000,000 Germans from the Sudetenland, Poland and other East European states reaching East and West Germany and 450,000 Jewish refugees from the Arab lands and another 450,000 from Europe.

In no case but that of the Arab refugees have the countries in which the refugees sought shelter obstructed their integration. The line taken by the Cairo Conference and apparently supported by Mr. Belfrage leads to no solution and is using the Arab refugees merely as a political football.

Samuel Davidson

"We're working on an undercover job for the government."

•

BRONX, N. Y.

In seeing Israel as a Western-oriented state certain factors may be overlooked. The establishment of the state of Israel with its modern methods and its economy (capitalist, not feudalistic), will do much to show other backward states in that area how progress can be made.

Tabitha Petran has stated that the Arab east is going from feudalism to capitalism; isn't it true that Israel has reached that stage already and as such would have a higher standard of living than any other part of the Middle East? The scientific and technical advances put it way ahead of its Arab neighbors. Israel, too, has several Communist members in its Knesset as well as other left-wing parties and these factors should not be overlooked when condemning its pro-West, pro-reactionary foreign policy.

S. Hoffberger

Every issue counts

SAN JOSE, CALIF.

I can assure you I make it a point to do my best to see to it each and every paper counts in the war against the despicable reactionaries.

Edward Sellars

To you and us

CHICAGO, ILL.

I certainly was pleasantly surprised in the last few days to hear from a number of your readers, offering to help make up the deficit incurred in connection with the happy reunion of American and Soviet Elbe veterans last month in Washington.

You have a good and loyal following and I must say I was moved by the kind words of those writing me. Kindest regards to the readers and staff of the GUARDIAN.

Joseph Polowsky

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CEDRIC BELFRAGE *Editor-in-Exile* **JOHN T. McMANUS** *General Manager* **JAMES ARONSON** *Editor*

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REPORT TO READERS

Antidotes to doldrums

TWO STORIES in this issue of the GUARDIAN seem to us to be of the sort to help dispel the early-summer doldrums to which we referred last week.

The top magnitude story (see p. 6) is the call of the Canadian Labor Congress, a 1,000,000-strong affiliate of the AFL-CIO in the U. S., for "a fundamental realignment of political forces in Canada." With almost no dissent, the Congress called for "a broadly-based people's political movement . . . interested in basic social reform and reconstruction through our parliamentary system of government."

In contrast to the parent AFL-CIO devotion to the Dulles foreign policy, its anti-Summit meeting sentiment and addiction to continuing armaments production and nuclear weapons, the Canadian affiliate calls for new big-power conferences, a ban on nuclear weapons, conventional disarmament and recognition of China. The Canadian labor movement believes that such objectives and the people's welfare generally can best be served by a new political party, and calls for a progress report in this direction by its 1960 Congress.

IN NEW YORK a group of citizens reflecting a broad spectrum of Left opinion has taken the initiative for a possible statewide independent-socialist ticket in the 1958 elections. (See pp. 1 and 7). At stake in the state this year is the Senatorial seat now occupied by Irving Ives, Republican, and a state administration headed by Democratic Gov. Averell Harriman. A Conference called for June 13-14-15 may decide to run for one or all five of the offices involved.

The term "independent-socialist" denotes a developing coalition for independent political action participated in by noted independents such as Corliss Lamont, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Rockwell Kent and others, as well as by any and all segments of organized socialist opinion. Preliminary conversations have involved every grouping in the state. The resulting conference will demonstrate the extent to which such widely-separated elements as Socialists, Communists and Trotzkyists can work together with independents for common political objectives.

If agreement is reached on a ticket and platform, a big summer job lies ahead in placing the ticket on the ballot via petition. We hope New York GUARDIAN readers of all persuasions will participate in the Conference and, should a candidate or candidates emerge, devote full efforts to assure them a place on the ballot.

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WE HAVE HEARD from many GUARDIAN readers who took up our suggestion of a few weeks back to write to industrialist Cyrus Eaton congratulating him for his arraignment of FBI "snooping" in a television interview early last month. All got friendly personal replies from Mr. Eaton with a suggestion that they write the same sentiment to their Congressmen and favorite newspaper.

Our friend Elmer Fish of Canton, O., writes (to his favorite newspaper):

"Were it not for NATIONAL GUARDIAN I'd have been ignorant of C. S. Eaton's good and powerful words—and told him so . . . As two of America's wealthy, leading men—Corliss Lamont and Eaton—I do respect each on the aforesaid subjects. I wrote words of unshaded praise to Eaton, including the fact that on matters of freedom and civil rights in the U.S. I rank him with—or at least second to—Corliss Lamont."

WE'RE GLAD people wrote to Eaton so promptly because the snoopers he attacked lost no time attacking back. The House Un-American Activities Committee counsel demanded and got equal time on TV and, doing what comes naturally, announced that his Committee would subpena Mr. Eaton.

In Congress Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.) reopened his one-man campaign to have the Committee overhauled or abolished; and in New York the evening **Post** said editorially that the subpenaing of Eaton was "as brazen a challenge to basic American liberties as any offered by the late Senator," meaning McCarthy.

Meanwhile Mr. Eaton's target, J. Edgar Hoover, informed the nation via a TV interview with Rep. Kenneth B. Keating (R-N.Y.) that his outfit is operating 90 wiretaps on people's telephones throughout the country. Whereupon Sen. Thomas Hennings (D-Mo.) asked by what authority Hoover was tapping wires "in the light of Section 605 of the Federal Communications Act;" and said his Committee on Constitutional Rights might summon both Hoover and Eaton "to testify at the same time."

If this goes through, we hope the Senator will accord both witnesses the courtesy of a full-scale TV show, the way Sen. McCarthy used to. This will be an argument most of America will want to sit in on.

—**THE GUARDIAN**

BEHIND THE VIOLENCE IN LEBANON

Moslems, Christians unite for Arab independence

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

"THE FRENCH CRISIS has obscured the upheaval and unrest in the Middle East," wrote London's **News Chronicle** recently. "But the crisis in Lebanon is hardly less serious than that of France." U.S. fleet and air force deployments, airlift of American "police equipment" to bolster President Camille Chamoun's pro-Western government, British threats and Soviet warnings—all these are surface reactions to deep-going basic changes in the Arab world.

In the Western press, the insurrection in Lebanon is explained in terms of "pro- and anti-Nasserism" or Moslem-Christian antagonisms. Both explanations have a certain basis in fact but the former is over-simplification and the latter is becoming a thing of the past.

Portraits of Egypt's President Nasser abound in Lebanon because, in the words of Emile Bustani, Lebanon's richest banker and real estate owner, he is the symbol to Moslem and Christian alike "of independence, positive neutrality, and unity," and because the Arab world is becoming more and more of a whole despite efforts of the Western powers.

THE INTERPRETERS: The Chamoun government is certainly "Christian": in last summer's election it used the religious issue as its main weapon. But today many Christian Lebanese are to be found in the ranks, and even the leadership, of the Opposition.

From early 19th century when the pretext for intervention of the Western colonial powers in the Levant was "religious freedom for the Christian minorities," the Christian Lebanese have been considered by other Arabs as the "drogmans" (interpreters)—in more than one sense—of the foreigners. Many had emigrated abroad and became the most advanced of that "link between the East and the West" which Lebanon is supposed to be.

CHANGING ROLE: In the past, this mercantile class, attached to foreign governments with interests in the Middle East and without political loyalties to the state in which it lived, jealously guarded its prerogatives and went out of its way to mobilize foreign support against other Arabs.

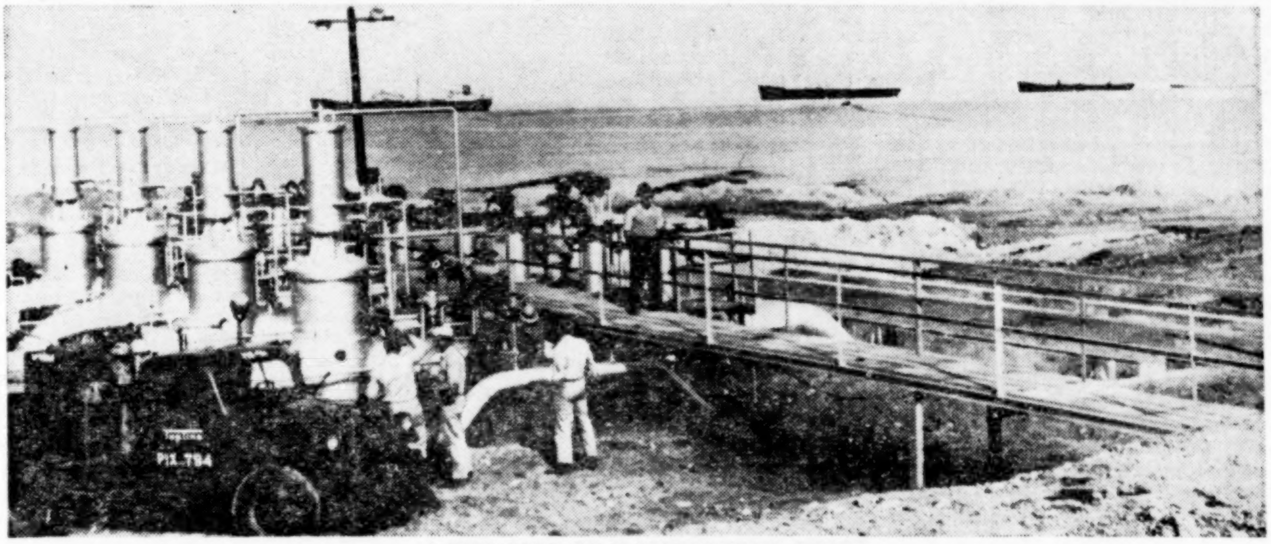
But since World War II the situation has begun to change. Oil money flooding into the treasuries of the kings, sheiks and pashas, and overflowing and trickling down to the mercantile class in Beirut has created a pressure for investment.

But the amount of money which can be invested in hotels and banks is limited. The accumulation of dollars and pounds has inevitably created a strong pressure for industrialization. Here the Lebanese come up against U.S. policy which—they have learned from experience—is to block industrialization.

The "Litani Water Authority" was held out to the Lebanese as a pilot plant for American aid long before President Truman proclaimed Point 4. Today it is forgotten. Actual American aid in the last seven years has not exceeded $37,000,000—mostly for "community studies," anti-malaria campaigns (Arabs call them "pro-DDT"), and scholarships to American universities. For this the Lebanese taxpayer has had to pay a minimum of 50% of the bill, and Lebanon has remained a Western port and a market for Western consumer goods.

THE LEADERS: These are the facts behind the increasingly acrimonious disputes over U.S. "aid"—that is, U.S. policy—in the past year and it is basically the situation which has brought into the ranks of the Opposition such Christian leaders as:

- Emile Bustani, long a middleman between the Western chancelleries and the Arab leaders, who in recent years has become one of the arch supporters of industrialization and economic development based on independence.



A PIPE-LINE TO WASHINGTON'S HEART
Saudi-Arabian oil flows through Lebanon to the Mediterranean

- Former foreign ministers Philip Takla and Henry Pharon, who lead a growing number of career politicians.
- The most eminent leader of the Christian community, His Holiness the Maronite Patriarch, Monsigneur Meouchi, (whose predecessor obtained for Lebanon its separate status from the Versailles Treaty Powers) who has come out staunchly for the end of the Chamoun regime.

A BEGINNING: With such leaders joining the five former Moslem Prime Ministers and the numerous left-wing intellectuals who constitute "the largest single group of the unemployed in Lebanon," the Moslem-Christian Opposition enjoys the support of the greatest majority of the population.

Is there a foreign hand in this agitation? One Lebanese answered: "Must there be a foreign hand in a society where deputies of the government 'majority' engage in unending oratory against an Opposition bill for banning prostitution or against another one for limiting the privileged treatment of foreign capital?"

The murder of Nassib Metni, editor of the Opposition paper **El Telegraf**, May 8, was the straw that broke the camel's back. Whatever the immediate outcome, the insurrection that followed, engulfing the whole country, is a beginning. "If it succeeds, we have the beginning of independence," wrote **El Telegraf**. "If it fails, it will still mark the beginning of the end of the corrupt, blood-stained puppethood which has had to cast off its mask and lay bare to the light of day its real face."

HOW THE WORLD LOOKS FROM WASHINGTON

Eisenhower Doctrine can't girdle bursting globe

WHEN SECY. of State John Foster Dulles held his May 20 press conference, cracks in Washington's Asian policy had widened and American prestige abroad had taken another nosedive.

Newsmen asked Dulles if there was any "talk of re-framing American foreign policy." He replied that he felt no need for a basic change; to him, trouble cropping up simultaneously in so many places was merely "a coincidence" or planned by Communists. Columnist Walter Lippmann, however, said that "the troubles all about [Dulles] are not superficial incidents which a strong man can ignore."

The Lebanese crisis had deeper roots than appeared on the surface (see Petran, above). Encouraged by Dulles, Lebanese President Chamoun lodged a complaint with the UN Security Council against the United Arab Republic for alleged interference in Lebanon's internal affairs. As civil strife increased in Lebanon, Dulles said the U. S. might invoke the Eisenhower Doctrine and intervene militarily, if only to protect American citizens in Lebanon. This created consternation within the government and among foreign diplomats in Washington.

INAPPLICABLE: These officials and diplomats believed that no amount of tricky interpretation by Dulles would make the Eisenhower Doctrine applicable to Lebanon, since the doctrine applied only to a Middle Eastern country threatened by outside forces which are "under the domination of international communism." The N. Y. **Herald Tribune** said that Washington had "no independent confirmation" of UAR interference in Lebanese affairs nor did the U. S. believe that the UAR is "under the domination of the Kremlin." The **Washington Post** said:

"The contention that American intervention was necessary to protect American lives and property . . . would be a transparent subterfuge [and] simply a pretext for getting around the all too evident limitations of the Eisenhower Doctrine."

MEANWHILE, IN ASIA: Despite U. S. disclaimers, Asians remained convinced that Formosa, South Korea and the Philippines were aiding the Indonesian rebels with Washington's tacit appproval. Indian government had evidence of arms shipments from Formosa to Indonesian rebels. He warned that foreign intervention in Indonesia would have grave consequences. The Burmese government also

Nuestra Palabra, Argentina
Dulles looks the other way

expressed deep concern over the "mounting evidence of participation by foreign adventurers in the unhappy conflict in Indonesia."

The U. S. was also accused by Burma of interference in its internal affairs. The Burmese press charged Washington with giving Deputy Premier U. Kyaw Nyein $600,000 for a campaign to overthrow the neutralist Premier U Nu. On May 13, a huge crowd, including Buddhist monks, demonstrated before the U. S. Embassy in Rangoon with posters reading: "American warmongers, don't interfere in our internal affairs."

TROUBLE IN LAOS: In Laos, U. S. policy came a cropper when the voters (including newly-enfranchised women) went to the polls on May 4 to elect 20 additional members to the National Assembly. The increase resulted from the recent merger of the dissident, left-wing Pathet Lao organization with the central government, which has already brought about far-reaching political, social and economic reforms. Pathet Lao was reorganized into the Neo Lao Hak Xat (Patriotic Front) Party.

Laos is under the protective umbrella of the U. S.-sponsored Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. Its army is entirely financed by the U. S. Hence, Washington fully expected the conservative candidates to sweep the elections. Yet the Patriotic Front in its first election test won nine of the 13 seats it contested; its ally, the Santiphab (Neutralist Peace) Party won four.

The U. S. has spent $135,000,000 in Laos in the last three years. A report of the General Accounting office in Washington said this has increased the political power and wealth of unscrupulous businessmen and fostered profiteering and currency speculation on a gigantic scale. Nevertheless, Tillman Durdin reported (N. Y. **Times**, 5/15), in the 1960 general elections the Patriotic Front was expected "to win an Assembly majority."

LOOSE DOCTRINE: Last week's most ominous development was Dulles' elastic interpretation of the Eisenhower Doctrine—bad enough as it is—as "a mandate to do something if we think our peace and vital interests are endangered from any quarter." This would empower the President to send U. S. armed forces even to Laos, as he did to Venezuela and to the shores of Lebanon.

The **Wall Street Journal**, noting "The fight in Lebanon appears to be mostly internal," urged Congress to "make clear that the Eisenhower Doctrine is not supposed to empower the Executive to send troops rushing in to help countries, that aren't even being attacked—just, for example, to support a government we might prefer to a government that might succeed it."

FOUR YEARS AFTER THE INTEGRATION RULING

85% of Negro kids still in jimcrow schools

By Louis E. Burnham

AS SOUTHERN SCHOOLS closed their doors for the 1957-8 year, the NAACP and other civil rights organizations sponsored nationwide observances of the fourth anniversary of the Supreme Court's ban on segregated education.

There was not much to shout about.

After four years, 85% of the Negro children affected by the Court's ruling were still attending inferior, jimcrow schools. Though desegregation had been accomplished in practice or policy in 764 of 2,889 bi-racial school districts, this achievement was confined almost exclusively to the border states and the District of Columbia. Except for the capital, these are areas in which the Negro school population is relatively small, ranging from 5.4% in West Virginia to Maryland's 21.6%.

THE HARD CORE: The deep-South citadel of white supremacy had not been breached. Seven states—Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana and Mississippi—had managed to maintain lily-white public schools in face of the Supreme Court ruling and numerous lower court mandates.

In three others compliance was a token which mocked, rather than fulfilled, the law's requirements. In North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas, 270 Negro children were going to classes with whites in a mere 15 out of 541 bi-racial school districts.

The slow pace of integration could be traced in part to the second ruling of the court which was being widely praised in the observances. On May 31, 1955, the Court, in an unprecedented action, ruled that in deference to local conditions segregation, though illegal, need not be stricken down at once, but simply "with all deliberate speed."

Some observers complained that the Court was taking away with one hand what the other had given, that "justice deferred is justice denied." But in the early flush of victory such critics were regarded as kill-joys or, worse still, "subversives." For the most part, they kept their peace.

BIGOTS MOVE FAST: The Dixiecrats, however, did not. Under the umbrella of this unique judicial doctrine, they set out deliberately and with great speed to subvert the court's intent.

Between May, 1954, and May, 1955, demonstrations of students and parents took place in Washington, Baltimore, Milford, Del., and White Sulphur Springs, W. Va. They were a social nuisance; but, though the disturbance in West Virginia succeeded in postponing integration for a year, it was clear that such actions could not prevail in face of official determination to obey the law.

By September, 1956, however, the situation had changed. Virginia, main seat of the South's seaboard aristocrats, had assumed its role as ideological leader of the rebellion and pronounced the doctrines of nullification, interposition and massive resistance. Mississippi, ever short on ideology but long on terror, spawned the White Citizens Councils, and they soon infested the whole South. More than 100 Congressmen signed a Southern manifesto against "naked judicial terror." Surly and petulant dissent became naked — sometimes violent—defiance.

ORGANIZED RESISTANCE: The violence which erupted at school opening in 1956 was bigger and better organized than that which preceded it. Negro children faced mobs at Clinton, Tenn., Mansfield, Tex., and Sturgis, Clay and Henderson, Ky. Where a governor met the mob with state militiamen, as at Sturgis, Negro children were protected in their right to share the best facilities in their community. But the fact remained that the enjoyment of a constitutional right depended on the will or whim of a state official, and who could tell when a Dixiecrat chief executive would decide to encourage, rather than disperse, a mob?

Matthews in Afro-American

This is exactly what happened a year later in the most celebrated of all integration crises at Little Rock, Ark. When Gov. Orval Faubus used the State Guard to keep nine Negro children out of Central High School the resistance was as massive as the South could muster. After costly delay and fruitless negotiation, President Eisenhower placed the Guard under Federal control and ordered 1,000 air-borne troops to the scene to enforce the Federal court's integration order.

Those who hoped this action foreshadowed a continuing initiative by the Administration to encourage integration have been disappointed. With the exception of the Little Rock instance, progress toward integration has been left wholly to the Negro complainants and the judiciary, the weakest of the three branches of government. Even when Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1957 it eliminated Section III which would have provided machinery for penalizing persons found guilty of interfering with school integration mandates.

NEW STATE LAWS: The never-never states have holed in behind a breastwork of anti-integration laws. Texas would close schools at the approach of Federal troops and requires a local election for approval of a Federal court integration order. Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi laws permit school closings by state officials and North Carolina's statute leaves the matter up to the local school district. In South Carolina and Virginia abolition of public schools is mandatory and the state is obliged to cut off funds assigned to an integrated school district.

Four states—Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and Virginia—have used the taxes of Negro and white citizens to finance official commissions or private organizations in the work of resisting integration and harassing the NAACP.

Virginia looms as the next big battleground in the four-year-old battle. The Supreme Court on May 19 turned down a state appeal from a lower court order directing integration in the schools of Arlington beginning next September. Seven of Arlington's 1,400 Negro school children were plaintiffs in the two-year-old suit and four have indicated they will apply for admission to white schools next fall.

WHAT IS NEEDED: When they do, Virginia will face a showdown on the legality of its school-closing law and spirited opposition from white parents. The Arlington County Council of the Parent-Teachers Assn. has voted unanimously to oppose school closing to evade integration. School districts in Charlottesville, Norfolk and Newport News are also under fall desegragation orders.

The Dallas, Tex., school board is weighing plans for compliance with a final court ruling requiring integration in September. In Houston, integration has been ordered but no dateline set. Suits have been entered in Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana, but are in earlier stages of litigation. Mississippi, alone, has no school integration action pending in the courts.

What happens in September will depend in part on the ability of liberal white Southerners to regain their voice which has been largely muted by the raucous cries of the Dixiecrats. Three hundred Protestant ministers in Dallas gave the lead last month in a statement proclaiming that "enforced segregation is morally and spiritually wrong" and calling upon citizens to support the court ruling and maintain law and order.

Much more of this kind of initiative is needed if each fall is not to be a season of terror and shame in the public schools of the South.

Dallas Morning News

'Deliberate Speed'

RETIRED GENERALS, FBI, AND THE FOREIGN BORN

Immigration service needs complete overhauling

The article below was sent to us as a letter commending the GUARDIAN for its close attention to problems of the foreign-born. We publish it in this form with permission because of its pertinent observations on the Heikkila deportation case as well as for the special proposals of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born for changes in the administration of the Immigration Service. Further information may be obtained from the Committee at 49 East 21 St., New York 10, New York.

By Abner Green

Executive Secretary, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born

THE ONE ISSUE the Justice Dept. and the Immigration and Naturalization Service are trying to develop as justifition for their actions in the Heikkila case is that non-citizens try to "take advantage of the courts" in order unfairly to "stall" their deportation.

Non-citizens rightly have sought to avail themselves of their rights in testing the validity of deportation orders in the Federal courts. The Justice Dept. is inordinately impatient about these court challenges largely because it has so often been proven wrong when challenged in court.

Charles Rowoldt of Minneapolis was first arrested in deportation proceedings in 1936. On March 22, 1955, Rowoldt was arrested at 7:30 a.m., told to pack, taken to the County Jail where he was to be held overnight, then flown to New York to be placed on a ship to Germany the following afternoon. Immediate court action prevented Rowoldt's removal from Minneapolis. On Dec. 10, 1957, the Supreme Court held that Rowoldt was not deportable since the character of his association with the Communist Party in 1936 had not been such as to warrant deportation.

THIS IS WHY the Attorney General doesn't like non-citizens challenging his orders in the Federal courts. William Heikkila was kidnaped because the Justice Dept. was afraid he might win his fight against deportation because of the general similarities of the Heikkila record with the Rowoldt record.

The Justice Dept. has stressed that it has been trying to deport Heikkila for 11 years. (It tried to deport Rowoldt for 21 years before he won his case).

William Heikkila was arrested in deportation proceedings in 1947, but hearings in his case were not held until 1951 —four years later. The delay was completely the doing of the Justice Department. Since 1951, Heikkila has been fighting his case in the courts but hasn't yet been able to get a Supreme Court

hearing. The Justice Dept. kidnaped him in an effort to forestall a Supreme Court ruling based on the Rowoldt decision.

JUSTICE DEPT. officials found it possible to behave as they did in the Heikkila case because of the prevailing atmosphere of political repression in this country. Contributing to this unhealthy atmosphere is the fact that non-citizens, under the Walter-McCarran Law, can be deported on a charge of past membership in the CP regardless both of how long they have lived in this country or how long ago they may have belonged to the CP.

William Heikkila has lived in this country for 52 years and has not been a member of the CP for the past 19 years but he still faces deportation. Of some 300 non-citizens facing deportation for past membership in the CP, 178—or 60% —have lived in this country for 40 years or more.

IN THE VIEW of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, the Heikkila kidnaping happened because:

- The Walter-McCarran Law, with its repressive deportation provisions, helps to create an atmosphere in which immigration officials are encouraged to act in Gestapo-like fashion.
- The failure of the American people to put an end to the mass deportations of Mexican immigrants—who are deported by hundreds of thousands annually without any semblance of due process—serves to encourage the Service to act in a similar fashion against all non-citizens.
- The Immigration and Naturalization Service is a part of the Justice Dept., the police agency of the government, and has become infected with an FBI attitude toward the 14,000,000 foreign born in the U.S.
- The Immigration and Naturalization Service is headed by retired generals who have spent most of their lives in the Army and who are not equipped, by training or background, to head a civilian agency of the government or deal with the kind of sensitive problems the Service encounters.

We must intensify our efforts (1) to repeal or basically revise the Walter-McCarran Law; (2) to end the undemocratic manner in which the Mexican immigrant is treated by the Immigration and Naturalization Service; and (3) for the removal of the Immigration and Naturalization Service from the Justice Dept. and its establishment as an independent agency of the government under the administration of experienced civilian leadership.

AS FRANCE BOILED OVER

Politicians turn everywhere but to the Left

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

MAJOR POLITICAL upheavals are never simple but few have been as confused as the slow-motion generals' putsch in Algeria, Corsica and Paris. Some who shout "Vive de Gaulle" today will be embarrassed or worse if de Gaulle comes to power tomorrow.

Some who support the Pflimlin government today—the CP and progressives in particular—have had to vote laws to which they have always been opposed, merely in order to uphold a government representing the Republic. Some de Gaulle partisans in Paris are turning into anti-Gaullists since the general's May 19th press conference. And Algiers anti-Gaullists are becoming temporary Gaullists to further their immediate interests.

Center of the confusion is de Gaulle, who has done nothing to dissipate the veil of mystery that goes with the de Gaulle legend.

TWO REACTIONS: The vagueness of de Gaulle's declarations have created a painful dilemma for some of his followers of good faith. Typical of some is the reaction of progressive Catholic writer Francois Mauriac after the general's May 19 press conference:

"If, under de Gaulle's leadership, the French and Algerian people reconcile themselves in an autonomous Algeria—well, then I shall resign myself to seeing the Republic become authoritarian . . . I measure the risk. If it depended on me only, I would be ready to run it."

Typical of many more ex-Gaullists is the reaction of Mendes-France, Finance Minister of the first de Gaulle Provisional Government of 1944:

JACQUES SOUSTELLE IN ALGIERS
De Gaulle's mouthpiece—wide open

"This voice that we hardly recognize . . . has spoken again: unfortunately, to condemn the parties [of the Republic] but justify or excuse the conduct [of the generals] . . . and after the Algiers insurrection a warrant in Paris . . . We don't believe that it is necessary to give up republican principles and liberties to which this country is attached, nor give in to the pressure of the street, whether it be in Algiers or in Paris."

FAKE FRATERNITY: There is a great deal of confusion in and about Algeria where news is heavily censored by the Committee of Public Safety and where a number of Paris correspondents, including **Le Monde's**, are in prison.

It is hard to understand how the Arabs, held under General Massu's paratrooper terror until two weeks ago, should suddenly want to turn around and fall into these same paratroopers' arms, as has been reported. It is no easier to understand how Algerian "ultras" such as Alain de Serigny, director of Algeria's most violently reactionary newspaper, **Echo d'Alger**, should want to fraternize with the Arabs, when only a few months ago the mere outline of a one-House representation for both Europeans and Arabs was enough to bring down a government.

The spontaneity of the fraternization is contested by some travellers back from Algeria. One told this correspondent that even if a certain psychological shock accounts for some of it, much of the fraternization is brought on by threats and fear of reprisals. "A tremendous fake," said the traveller, a man of conservative right-wing opinions.

What is the meaning of "integration," the old by-word of Gaullist Deputy and ex-governor of Algeria Jacques Soustelle? Integrating the 8,000,000 Algerian Arabs with the French, giving them equal salaries, equal housing, equal treatment would mean a fantastic lowering of French living standards or outright economic ruin. Although these slogans may raise local enthusiasm, right-wing editorialists in Paris are beginning to worry about just how irresponsible they are.

FEAR OF PEOPLE: There are many divergent tendencies inside the European insurrectionist group. The most clear-cut difference is between the Army and the civilians with most reports showing the Army is more "liberal."

At this writing the Pflimlin government upholds the Republic—with the help of the Communists, whose votes it repudiates. It tries to keep right-wing sympathies by not outlawing the insurrectional generals in Algiers nor even blaming them. It is so haunted by the fear of a Popular Front government that it refuses to lean on the one force really capable of keeping Fascism in check and protecting the Republic: the workers, the trade unions and the progressive left.

BACK DOOR OPEN: There are men in the Cabinet determined to defend the Republic; among them, surprisingly enough, certain right-wing figures who feel more strongly about it than do Socialists like Guy Mollet.

Some people inside and outside the Pflimlin government would not mind seeing de Gaulle take power legally, just as Petain was installed legally in 1940. The government right now is trying to open a legal back door for de Gaulle with a constitutional reform due for parliamentary debate, if the fast-moving crisis allows for debate. If voted, that reform would cut the government system precisely to de Gaulle's size, style and liking.

BRAINSTORMING WITH BIG BUSINESS

We'll win the day the Wheaties way

AT A CRITICAL MOMENT in the nation's history the leaders of business and government gathered at a summit meeting in New York's Hotel Astor last week. The country was in its worst economic storm since the Great Depression of the Thirties. There have been few other occasions when the President, Vice President and Secy. of Commerce met in open conference with the most powerful businessmen to plan a new way out for the nation.

The President tended to be lyrical: "America is going to grow and grow—and grow . . . We have about caught our breath . . . The faint-hearted and the doubters who hang back today are apt to be trampled in the rush of progress . . . there is a change in the making. That it will prove to be a change for the better I have no doubt . . . No single person, no single group, however wise and well-informed, can name the day or the week when that upturn will begin . . ."

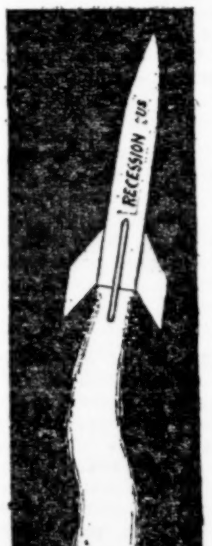
SELL, SELL, SELL: Throughout most of the President's talk the businessmen sat on their hands. They broke their silence when he urged them not to grant wage increases and when he promised not to get "bogged down" in a public works program for the unemployed.

His advice to the businessmen was to modernize, expand, produce, create, sell, sell, sell. In a moment of self-criticism the President said: "We can never pep-talk our way to prosperity" but instead the job must be done "in the time-honored American way of self-reliance and self-starting initiative."

Examples of self-starters popped up in the reports of business leaders. Frank J. Lunding, chairman of the Jewel Tea Co., said that the food industry had shown the way in creative selling. For example, he said, potatoes are now sold in 14 different ways, including "heavy duty potato chips—with crinkle."

HOW'S THAT? Charles H. Percy, president of the Bell and Howell Co., manufacturers of photographic equipment, told a panel: "What we need in this country is a little more belly-to-belly selling." Vice President Nixon, acclaimed by the conference for his unorthodox diplomacy in Latin America, commented on the Percy plan: "Possibly that's some advice we can use in the field of foreign policy."

Nixon drew cheers when he announced that Congress would probably prepare new legislation on labor, "corrective but not punitive." He reminded his audience that he had voted for the Taft-Hartley Law and scored again when he advocated that any tax cut "put money in the hands of job creators and investors as well as consumers." Job creators seemed a catchy euphemism for employers, some of whom had just been laying off considerable numbers of workers.



Liberation
"Another rocket out of control!"

Creativity in some plants included movies for the workers. R. S. Ingersoll, president of Borg-Warner Corp., reported that employes were being shown "special motion-picture presentations of the inflationary effects of wage increases . . ."

BUILD WITH WHEATIES: Harry Bullis, chairman of the board of General Mills, Inc., pledged his company to spend $16,000,000 on capital expenditures but $24,000,000 and perhaps more on solid, constructive advertising. He said:

"Our advertising will be geared to the needs of the nation. An example is our nationwide campaign to improve the physical fitness of the American people. Sponsored by Wheaties, one of our ready-to-eat breakfast cereals, this campaign is designed to sell by performing a public service. This is the kind of approach that will build America."

Commerce Secy. Sinclair Weeks made it clear that the building of America would be a by-product of the Wheaties Way. He said: "The chief business of private industry is to make private industry succeed."

Elmer L. Lindseth, president of the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co., beat home the message: "Get the fat out of the system . . . we need shoe-leather selling and sales bird-dogging. . . . Let's avoid unwholesome government stimulants. . . . Keep our actions on a high moral and ethical level."

Businessmen all around the country were taking the offensive. In Hartford, Conn., William A. McDonnell, president

Stam in AFL-CIO News
Springtime in Washington, 1958

of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, said that a union label was sewed in the lining of the current recession. High wages were causing unemployment, he said, and high prices.

PEAKING AND CREEPING: Those prices were at all-time high last week but Ewan Clague, Commissioner of Labor Statistics, interpreted the figures with a touch of whimsy at a news conference. He said living costs were "peaking out" though they could "creep up" some more before the summer.

But Cleveland showed what businessmen meant by a revival. Some 5,000 people gathered at a Buy-Now Rally in Public Hall to hear W. Heartsill ("Hard-sell") Wilson, known as the Billy Graham of salesmanship and a vice president of the Plymouth Sales Division of Chrysler Corp. He warmed up the meeting with jokes. He went down on his knees as he quoted from the 23rd Psalm: "The Lord is my shepherd. I shall not want." However irrelevant, it set the tone. He peeled off his jacket, his dark hair fell over his forehead. He worked up a preacher's sweat. He rolled up his sleeves, tore open his collar and delivered himself of the gospel:

"We've got to make spending money a pleasure!"

ANSWER TO THE TORIES

Canadian labor votes to build its own party

By Dan Daniels
Special to the Guardian

MONTREAL

A NEW PEOPLE'S POLITICAL movement is Canadian labor's answer to the recent Tory victory at the polls. Delegates to the Canadian Labor Congress, AFL-CIO, convention in April adopted almost unanimously a resolution calling for a new political realignment "embracing the Canadian Commonwealth Fedn., the labor movement, farm organizations, professional people and other liberally-minded persons interested in basic social reform and reconstruction through our parliamentary system of government."

According to some political sages the action by the trade unionists shouldn't have been taken. After all, the progressive forces had just been badly beaten at the polls—the social democratic CCF had been reduced from an effective opposition of 25 to a mere eight. Political pundits boasted that "the Canadian people have returned to the two party system." Surely this was the wrong time for the labor movement to undertake any drastic political action.

IMPERATIVE NEED: The labor delegates had their own view. Their resolution said: "This convention . believes that the imperative need of the Canadian political scene today is the creation of an effective alternative political force based on the needs of workers, farmers and similar groups, financed and controlled by the people and their organizations."

Far from seeing the end of third parties, they noted that Quebec is ruled by a third party (a right-wing off-shoot of the Tories), Alberta and British Columbia are ruled by the right-wing Social Credit Party and Saskatchewan by the CCF. In addition, the CCF is the main opposition in two provinces.

The resolution is free of any red-baiting. As it stands, it is broad enough to include the extreme Left as well as reform organizations. Both the communist Labor Progressive Party and the left-wing Council of Socialist Clubs of Quebec have expressed their belief in Parliament. Communist leader Tim Buck welcomed the resolution and pointed out that his party had always advocated such a movement.

There is little likelihood, however, that the new political realignment will at present take in the Left wing. Unions regarded as Left are still out of the Congress.

CHANGE IN POSITION: In the past, CCF'ers have fought narrowly for the labor movement to adopt their party as the arm of labor, at times to the detriment of unity. This time they helped to foster the resolution for a broader movement of which they would be only a part. This would indicate a recognition that the old parties can be defeated only by an alliance of all the people's forces. "If the CCF can go forward as part of a broadly based left-of-center party," said Ontario CCF leader Donald MacDonald, "then this will be the realization of our dreams."

On the other hand there are some CCF'ers who regard the resolution only as a means of enhancing the CCF and who will try to make the CCF the whole of the movement instead of just a part. This opinion was expressed to me by a trade union official who is also a CCF leader.

The new movement will have an incubating period. The convention instructed the executive to initiate discussions with the various people's organizations to formulate a constitution and a program and report on such a plan to the next convention in two years.

RANK-AND-FILE SUPPORT: There was fear in some quarters that conservative elements in the Congress would try to keep the resolution from taking on flesh and blood. That they would have tough going to stop the new movement was indicated by the shouted approval of the rank-and-file delegates when the resolution was presented to the floor. Even the movers of the resolution were surprised by the support shown. Said MacDonald: "We must start to build the movement right now."

LABOR'S MEANY AND THE BOSS
Canadians are so un-American

Many observers regard the Congress resolution as one of the most important steps taken by the labor movement in recent years. While it is not a socialist movement, it is an alternative to the rule of the old-line parties; by electing Members of Parliament who will be responsible to people's organizations it will set the stage for basic fundamental changes. It is also a sharp break with the political philosophy of the parent AFL-CIO in the United States.

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THE HELLMAN 'MEMBERSHIP' TRIAL

FBI agents scour Montana for informers

Special to the Guardian

BUTTE, MONT.

AN UNUSUAL TURN in the Smith Act "membership" trial of John Hellman has lifted briefly the curtain on the vast operations of government snoopers. For a half-day of the trial, 14 special agents of the FBI and Immigration service paraded to the witness stand, in the absence of the jury.

They described what procedures were used to destroy original notes taken in oral interviews of FBI informers, but their presence revealed far more. Eight FBI agents and one Immigration officer were employed to receive and evaluate the reports from a single FBI "undercover" informer, Bellarmino Duran of Denver.

The agents were flown in from all sections of the country to substantiate the government claim that such material need not be produced for the defense under terms of Public Law 3500—passed by Congress under Justice Dept. prodding after the Jencks decision.

CP OUTNUMBERED: So far, eight Montana witnesses have taken the stand, two of them secret paid informers within the Communist Party. The fact that so many persons (more will follow) in this sparsely-settled state could be traced down and induced to take the stand against Hellman shows the scale of FBI operations here. These are only a tiny fraction of the number of people who have been visited and sometimes threatened. It would appear that the Bureau had more employes on its payroll than the total membership of the CP of Montana.

But so far nothing has been turned up which even remotely resembles direct evidence of "teaching and advocating" the violent overthrow of the government. The prosecution has tried to create the impression that references to "Marxism - Leninism," "imperialism," "democratic centralism" and "vanguard role" can be equated to illegal advocacy.

Lengthy Party memoranda and quotations from books and pamphlets containing these magic words have been read to the jury, regardless of subject and content. The readings are strong evidence of obscure and windy language, and their sleep-inducing quality has been demonstrated by members of the jury panel.

INFORMERS IN SCHOOL: The lesson the government seems to have drawn from the Yates decision of the Supreme Court is that Communist schools offer the best chance of evidence showing "teaching and advocacy" which incites to action. The several schools in Montana were attended by at least one, and sometimes more, paid informers. In addition, there has been lengthy hearsay testimony on schools in North Carolina and California.

Despite the incongruities of the case, the prospects are dim. No jury in the land could be expected to understand, let alone evaluate, the mass of testimony on Marxist theoretical questions, and few jurors have escaped the influence of a dozen years of intensive cold-war propaganda. Almost every juror has watched the serial "I Led Three Lives" featured on the only local TV channel and the two Anaconda-dominated dailies never miss a daily editorial devoted to the "Communist menace."

If precedents are established permitting the kind of hearsay and prejudicial testimony allowed in this trial, they will provide a formula for mass heresy prosecutions. The government has chosen to make its first test runs of the post-Yates-decision Smith Act cases in remote places like Greensboro, N.C., and Butte, which have little national press coverage and no civil liberties organizations.

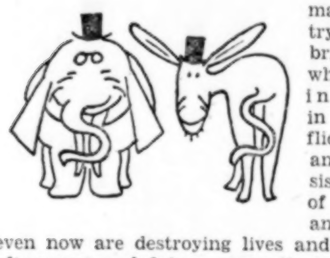
NATIVE SON: There is still a chance that the Justice Dept. may have misjudged the temper of this union stronghold. Even Madison Avenue experts would have a hard time turning John Hellman into a sinister character. Born in Columbia Falls in 1921, this big, quiet son of Montana pioneer farmers seems to belong here as much as the snow-capped peaks which ring the Butte mines.

A former field organizer for the Montana Farmers Union, he was candidate for Railroad and Public Service Commissioner in 1952 on the Progressive Party ticket and received more than 6,000 votes. The campaign in which he played an active part to put silicosis, the dread disease of the hard-rock miner, under industrial compensation is still felt in the state capitol.

Just prior to his arrest under the Smith Act—which is supposed to mean that he wanted to substitute the bullet for the ballot—he set something of a record in Butte by registering more than 700 citizens to qualify as voters.

Call for an independent-socialist conference

IN DEEP CONCERN for the well-being of all the people of our country and for the peace of the world, the undersigned citizens herewith issue a Call to conscientious people of our State to a Conference for the purpose of challenging the political machines of our State and Nation at the polls in the 1958 elections.



Alike, the political machines of our country are committed to brink-of-war policies which cannot fail to involve the world in catastrophic conflict unless reversed; and they have persisted in the testing of weapons of mass annihilation which even now are destroying lives and sapping the health of present and future generations through radioactive nuclear fallout.

Alike, they are committed to an economic system which at least once before in most of our memories has brought the nation to its knees in Depression for the profit of the few; which in this year has once again brought our country to the brink of a new economic collapse, after boom years of the most voracious profit-taking in the history of the world.

ALIKE, THEY HAVE SOUGHT to crush labor, the family farmer and the small business man. They have driven the scientist from the laboratory of peace. They have impoverished and corrupted our educational system, driving fine teachers from the classroom and others into the refuge of conformity with the aims of profit and war.

They condone and foster race hatred, deny the American birthright of freedom and threaten millions of foreign birth and their families through repressive statutes which are a restoration in our time of the iniquitous Alien and Sedition Laws which Thomas Jefferson and his followers fought to destroy in the founding years of our republic.

They have sentenced present generations of our young manhood to universal military service, bringing uncertainty and despair to our youth and frustrating the normal, healthy development of family life.

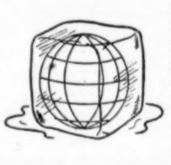
By their example in public life and in preparation for war, by training for violence and by neglect of humane endeavor, they have bred hopelessness and cynicism throughout the land which expresses itself most grievously in juvenile delinquency and widespread crime.

THEY HAVE SADDLED the working people of our country with an unprecedented and unrelieved tax burden; they have plundered the hard-earned savings of the people through inflation; they have enabled and encouraged enormous profit-feeding of big business by government.

They have sought to suppress all political opposition and to render as seditious in the public mind and indeed in the laws of the nation, the search for peace and a better way of life, and for a world of brotherhood and equality among men and nations.

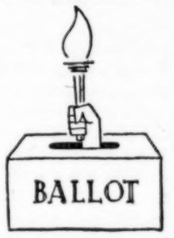
In a world in which a billion people are engaged in building a socialist order as an alternative to capitalist anarchy, American capitalism is disclosing its inability to utilize the gigantic productive capacity, natural resources and skilled labor of our country to provide a future of economic security, peace and freedom for the people.

THE PEOPLE OF OUR COUNTRY are beginning to search for pathways to a better future. They have rallied in increasing numbers against repression. They have begun to roll back the evil known as McCarthyism and have scored signal victories in the courts for civil liberty. The Negro people have embarked on a great effort for full equality. Citizens of all walks of life have joined in protest against the development and testing of nuclear weapons. Throughout the house of labor is heard the repeated demand for an independent political course. The forces for social change in our country are seeking a common meeting ground to present to the people of our country alternatives to a course of greed, brutalization and repression.



The undersigned are convinced that these alternatives must be placed on the ballot this year represented by candidates for governor, lieutenant governor, attorney-general and comptroller in our State and by a candidate for United States Senator from New York. Further, we believe that such an initiative on our part can and will encourage similar action by like-minded citizens of other states in this year's elections.

Therefore, we call upon all independent, progressive and socialist-minded forces in our State to attend a Conference in New York City on the 13th, 14th and 15th days of June, 1958, at the Hotel Great Northern, 118 W. 57th Street, for the purpose of adopting a platform and designating candidates for such offices in the 1958 elections as the Conference shall set forth.



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N. Y. conference

(Continued from Page 1)

effort is necessary this year to introduce vital issues and prospects which will otherwise be absent from the political argument in the forthcoming elections.

"Further, if a minimum of 50,000 votes can be won at the ballot-box, an independent political medium of great, new significance can be given ballot status in our state for future elections."

BALLOT REQUIREMENTS: New York law requires 12,000 valid signatures of qualified voters to put statewide candidates on the ballot. A minimum of 50 such signatures are required in each of 60 counties, with a lowered requirement of 50 signatures combined for two remaining counties—Fulton and Hamilton—located in the heart of the Adirondack Mountains.

The period for collecting signatures begins July 29. Nominating petitions can be filed with the Secretary of State in Albany between Sept. 2 and 9.

If 50,000 votes are cast for a petition candidate for governor, the party label under which the candidate runs retains ballot status in future elections without the petition requirement as long as a minimum of 50,000 voters cast ballots for the party's candidate for governor in quadrennial elections. The American Labor Party, founded in N. Y. in 1936, lost its ballot status in 1954 when John T. McManus, its candidate for governor, received only 46,890 votes.

HOW HARRIMAN WON: Averell Harriman, Democrat, was elected governor by a margin of some 11,000 votes over Sen. Irving Ives, Republican, in a total vote of over 5,000,000. Harriman's victory was generally credited to a mass switch of ALP voters, who in 1950 had polled over 220,000 votes for their own gubernatorial candidate. Harriman will undoubtedly run again this year as the Democratic candidate.

Most frequently mentioned as his Republican opponent is Nelson Rockefeller, a grandson of the late Standard Oil magnate, John D. Rockefeller, and one of the Rockefeller Brothers group issuing the much-discussed military and economic reports of early this year calling for stepped-up armaments production among other remedies for an ailing economy.

Even before the public announcement May 26 of the June Conference for an independent state ticket, N. Y. newspapers have had inklings of the meetings leading up to it and have printed as rumor the possibility that Corliss Lamont might be the choice to head such a ticket.

CALL DISTRIBUTED: The N.Y. **Daily News**, recalling Lamont's ALP vote (104,-702) for U.S. Senator in 1952, commented:

"Those votes, as any Democratic leader will ruefully admit, wouldn't have been Republican votes. Even if Corliss Lamont's ultra-liberal leanings won't allow him to be happy over Republican eagerness to see him in the campaign, he certainly can find interest in the fact that the mere possibility of his entry is enough to scare every Democratic leader in the state."

Copies of the Conference Call are being mailed this week to thousands of voters throughout N. Y. State, with a registration coupon (registation fee $1) and tentative schedule of sessions during the three-day week-end meeting. A Platform Committee will hold a public session Friday afternoon, June 13. Sessions are scheduled for Saturday morning and afternoon with a supper-entertainment in the evening. There will be two sessions Sunday, with adjournment at 4 p.m. All events will be held at the Great Northern Hotel, 118 W. 57th St., New York 19.

NEW PEACE WALKS SET IN BRITAIN

9,500 in London anti-Bomb mass lobby

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

IN THE "MASS LOBBY" against nuclear armament at the House of Commons May 20, and in four evening meetings addressed by lobbyists and 21 MP's, 9,500 persons participated, according to "lobby" marshals' estimates. Despite London's bus strike, the **Daily Herald** reported a queue of lobbyists going at one point "right round the House, stretching six deep a quarter of a mile."

Later a procession over a mile long moved through the streets to a mass meeting near the British museum, with banners protesting against H-bombs and missile bases in Britain. As on the Aldermaston march, young people overwhelmingly predominated.

In the afternoon 51 robed clergymen of 11 denominations, including three rabbis and the Dean of Canterbury in velvet-sleeved scarlet, walked down Whitehall from Trafalgar Square to lay a wreath with the Nuclear Disarmament emblem at the Cenotaph memorial to British war dead.

A League of Empire Loyalists man, wearing a clerical collar as "protective disguise," shouted from the crowd of onlookers at the clergymen: "These people care nothing about our British dead, they're only interested in propaganda." On a "UN is an anti-British racket" poster adorning the heckler's sound-truck, which he had parked down Whitehall, someone had crossed out "British" and scrawled "Fascist."

SECRETS OF ISIS: At the Central Hall meetings a telephoned message of support came through from an anti-Bomb assembly in Nigeria. Demonstrators were reminded of the vital importance of British action against the Bomb in influencing mass protest elsewhere, and of the impending French bomb tests to be started in the Sahara in June. Frank Beswick, MP, won loudest applause when he said: "There is enough material here for a revolution if only we work hard enough."

Leaflets distributed during the afternoon and evening included the text of a recent article in the **Isis**, Oxford undergraduate journal, about provocations by Western aircraft along the East-West border "from Iraq to the Baltic." The reprint was sold for threepence toward defense expenses of two **Isis** editors, whose trial under the Official Secrets Act for publishing it began next day.

Police confiscated the leaflets after some had been sold, questioned eight distributors of it for 1½ hours, then released them and returned the leaflets. Reports of the trial, where the prosecution said it was acting because some of the article was true and "highly secret," brought the full text to most British newspaper readers (circulation of the **Isis** is about 1,000).

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, now with 183 local branches around Britain, filled Manchester's two biggest halls for a mass demonstration May 21. On May 25-26 a column of anti-Bomb campaigners staged a march from Oxford to the U.S. air base at Brize Norton; a giant "March on London" from six points around the capital was set for June 22.

"One nation cannot defeat another nation today. That concept died with Hiroshima. War is like fire; you prevent a fire, or you can try to put it out, but you can't 'win' a fire, because fire is destruction."

—GENERAL H. H. ARNOLD

BOOKS

The Negro's Lonesome Road

BY WHATEVER STANDARD, the Negro's claim upon the full enjoyment of American citizenship would seem beyond dispute. For 246 years his unpaid labor provided the early accumulations of wealth in which today's great fortunes of "free enterprise" have their direct or indirect origins.

His songs and melodies gave the nation the only major current of musical culture identifiable as truly American as distinct from mutations of European originals.

No true account can be given of the political and social development of the nation at any stage without reference to the Negro's readily apparent, and sometimes crucial, part. Yet such accounts are given in hundreds of books published each year, purporting to be serious, or even scholarly, studies of the nation's past or of contemporary matters.

IT HAS BEEN easy to leave the Negro out because he has been made to travel always on the by-roads, the back paths, the dark alleys of American life. Where his dismal course crosses the main highways of the nation, it is impossible, of course, not to notice him. But the nation seems generally relieved as he is hurried off, or blasted back to the rugged and wearisome way which he alone must trod.

This path is **The Lonesome Road,*** and Saunders Redding has described it, often with acute discernment, in the latest volume of the Mainstream of America Series. The road—almost always uphill, tortuous and steep—is laid before the reader through the lives of twelve prominent Negroes of widely varying backgrounds, temperaments, skills and compulsions.

It would be difficult to imagine greater differences than between Isiah T. Montgomery, founder of the all-Negro town of Mound Bayou, Miss., who knew "the black man's place," and abolitionist Frederick Douglass, who never stopped unleashing thunderbolts of defiance and protest at white men's arrogance. It is a gloomy tribute to the rigidity of American race prejudice that Dr. Daniel Hale Williams, the gentle and deferential scientist who performed the first successful operation on the human heart, shared a common complaint, though not common cause, with Marcus Garvey, the flamboyant West Indian agitator and organizer who stirred masses of American Negroes to a sense of common destiny as they have not been aroused before or since.

THROUGH EACH of his subjects Redding provides a picture—a sort of angle shot—of the multi-faceted life of Negroes in America. In Isabella No-Name (Sojourner Truth) as well as Douglass, we see the Negro's part in abolitionist struggle. The deft and dramatic treatment of her life reminds us of the wealth of material, of true Americana usually left buried and unmined by our historians.

Daniel Payne, born free in Charleston in 1811, friend of insurrectionist Denmark Vesey, later a bishop of the African Methodist Church and founder of Wilberforce, oldest of Negro colleges, typifies the stern dedication and sacrificial effort which created the Negro's major institutions in the last years of slavery and the early days of freedom.

The origins of modern Negro protest are traced in the revulsion of a small band of Negro intellectuals to Booker T. Washington's thesis of compromise, in the emergence of W.E.B. DuBois and, with him, the Niagara Movement of 1905.

THAT SAME YEAR a man—born, as was DuBois, in 1868—published the first issue of a Chicago weekly that was to leave a lasting mark on Negro journalism. Few of Redding's subjects were destined to become as wealthy as Robert S. Abbott, founder of the Chicago **Defender.** Yet hardly any was as tragic and complex a figure as this man whose "fumbling intelligence," "oceanic patience," and "legendary stubbornness" laid the groundwork for one of the country's most successful Negro businesses.

Redding is rather less successful with the living than with the dead. Perhaps the fact that the returns are not yet fully in on them accounts for his seeming timidity in drawing fuller portraits of DuBois, Paul Robeson, A. Philip Randolph, Joe Louis and Thurgood Marshall. With Robeson, especially, current history would seem to require more than the repetition of easy but questionable assumptions about his personality and his politics, and some effort to get to the bottom of both.

The publishers have sub-titled the book "The Story of the Negro's part in America." It is not that. It is not, to be sure, even a series of short biographies of the eleven men and one woman who are its subjects. But it was obviously not intended as either. Seen as an effort to show the effects of color, caste and class discrimination on the nation's Negro people through the lives of these twelve prototypes and their interaction with the larger society, **The Lonesome Road** is a valuable contribution to the current literature on a critical social question.

—**Louis E. Burnham**

**THE LONESOME ROAD, by Saunders Redding. Doubleday & Co., Inc., Garden City, N.Y. 356 pp. $5.75.*

PRE-PUBLICATION BARGAIN

Anne Braden's book hailed

OUT OF THE MOST celebrated case in the recent struggle for housing desegregation has come a book that may well be one of the most significant social documents of these difficult years.

The case was the Louisville "sedition" trial. It began, quite innocently, in the spring of 1954 when Carl and Anne Braden bought a house on Rone Court near the Shively suburb of Louisville and transferred title to their friend, Andrew Wade.

Because the Bradens are white and the Wades Negroes, and because Negroes had never lived in Shively before, the defenders of things-as-they-are reacted with unseemly and ill-concealed panic. They bombed the Wade's home. They put Anne Braden in jail; they sent her husband to prison where he stayed eight months before being cleared of the "sedition" charge. They "denounced her as a menace to the community and to civilization itself."

OUT OF THIS experience has come the book, **The Wall Between,** by Anne Braden.

No, not merely out of this; but rather out of all the years and generations the wall of segregation has separated whites from Negroes, out of "the ugly and inescapable heritage of a slave society," Anne Braden has written a book that both transcends and goes deeper than the "facts" in the case.

She has written it, she says, "because I think a detailed study of a single incident can illuminate this vast problem as no generalization can."

Pre-publication testimonials indicate how largely she has succeeded. Aubrey Williams, former Administrator of the National Youth Administration, now publisher of the **Southern Farm and Home,** says:

"Her book has the flavor of Balzac and the carefulness of Commager. If I could afford to I would like to put this book in the hands of ten ministers in every county in the deep South. If they would read it, it might convict them of the sin of silence and galvanize them into some sort of action."

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt finds **The Wall Between** "a most remarkable story, written by a woman who has achieved an amount of objectivity which is extraordinary under the circumstances."

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN, minister of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, finds that the book "goes more deeply than any work I know into the central problem of our generation—how to achieve ethnic democracy," and urges: "Anyone who cares about human brotherhood as more than an idle abstraction must give himself the tremendous experience of reading these pages."

Similar comments from former N. Y. Domestic Relations Court Judge Hubert T. Delany and Clarence E. Pickett, exec. secy. emeritus of the American Friends Service Committee, would seem to indicate that the publishers are not overstating their case when they quote their editor, "a man of high literary standards not given to easy enthusiasm":

"She tells you things you already know in a way which hits you in the teeth and gives you that shudder which Melville (wasn't it?) called "the shock of recognition." And she tells you things you don't know in a way which brings you a quiet revelation, illumination. It will certainly be one of the books that any competent historian or sociologist, American or foreign, writing in 1975 or 1980, will have to examine very closely as a fundamental source."

ANNE BRADEN'S book will be published on July 14 by Monthly Review Press and will sell for $5. By ordering a copy now, GUARDIAN readers can get **The Wall Between** for the pre-publication price of $3. (Monthly Review Press, 66 Barrow St., New York 14.)

The book lives up to its notices and exceeds them. Anne Braden tells what happens when people of good will challenge "a whole settled world, a way of life." She probes deeply and dispassionately into the fears, the dreams, the hidden compulsions, the public and secret lives of white and Negro Southerners ranged on both sides of the wall.

Perhaps she does it so well because she starts with a modest, honest and utterly sincere effort to understand herself, her husband, and their responsibilities and opportunities as white Southerners in the battle to replace segregation with brotherhood in our national life.

The glamor of peace

MORE EFFECTIVE was the slogan "Remember the Maine," which led directly to the Spanish-American War in 1898. It is unlikely that similar warlike slogans will be used in the future because war has lost its glamor. The aggressor now has to disguise his purpose in terms of peace.

—Arthur L. Goodhart, Master of University College, Oxford, in the N.Y. **Times** Magazine, 4/27

Nowak's citizenship is restored

A SUPREME COURT decision May 26 restoring the citizenship of former State Senator Stanley Nowak of Michigan and Mrs. Rebecca Maisenberg of Detroit may cripple further government efforts to denaturalize some 33 others charged with failing to declare Communist Party membership in citizenship applications.

The Court ruled that the form of the question asked in the application then in use was ambiguous. Petitioners for citizenship are now asked specifically whether they are members of the Communist Party.

Among the 33 other cases accompanying the Nowak-Maisenberg cases to the Supreme Court via an amicus curiae brief were those of Steve Nelson, Pennsylvania CP leader; Al Richmond, editor of the West Coast **Peoples World;** Louis Weinstock, former Painters Union head; Paul Novick, editor of the **Freiheit;** V. J. Jerome, author and former CP cultural leader; Charles Collins, once head of the N.Y. Hotel Trades Union; and James Lustig, former UE leader.

The effect of the ruling on other pending cases is now being studied by counsel for the individuals and the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, which participated in the appeals until it was barred by the State of New York from conducting further defense activities.

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THE ANGRY YOUNG MEN OF CARACAS
Military police force back anti-Nixon demonstrators

Foreign policy

(Continued from Page 1)

would be certain to consider the Kusnetzov sales pitch in contrast with the long-standing U.S. policy of discouraging industrialization in Latin America.

Before the Morse committee was formally launched, Sen. Green called hearings of the full Foreign Relations Committee which showed a trouble spot where Washington assumed all was quiet. Livingston T. Merchant, U.S. Ambassador to Canada, told the committee: "There has been a change in the climate, or temperature, of our relations [with Canada] during the past year which could be a forecast of a deterioration in our relations."

TARIFFS AND DUMPING: Among the grievances piling up, Merchant listed the U.S. threat to set import tariffs on lead, zinc and oil—the same grievance that figures largely in Latin resentment; and the dumping of surplus wheat on the world market causing Canada's wheat to pile up in western warehouses.

Sen. William Fulbright (D-Ark.) asked Merchant why he failed to mention other outstanding Canadian grievances. One of these concerned the recent publication of charges by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee that Robert Bryce, now clerk of the Canadian Privy Council, had been a member of an alleged communist study group at Harvard in 1936.

Publication of the charges against Bryce, whose job makes him custodian of Canada's top secrets, brought prompt protests from Norman Robertson, Canada's Ambassador in Washington. It violated an agreement to keep such matters strictly confidential, reached last year after a similar disclosure by the Senate subcommittee drove Canadian diplomat E. Herbert Norman to suicide in Cairo.

P. E. Corbett, a Canadian and professor at Princeton University's Center for International Studies, told the Senators last week that the Norman case "created among Canadians a sense of injury for which I can find no parallel in my memory."

HALT DEMANDED: The pro-Tory Toronto **Globe and Mail** after the Bryce incident editorially urged that Canada stop the exchange of "security information" with the FBI. The paper said: "In the present state of affairs in Washington, it is doubtful whether any information on Communist activities sent from that source would have much value, and it is all too likely that any information we send them will be abused for political purposes."

Sen. Fulbright also cited the "tax raid" on the Premium Ore Co., Ltd., a mining company headed by Cyrus Eaton, currently a target of the House Un-American Activities Committee. The company had begun mining operations in 1942 with a three-year tax exemption from Canada. In 1953 the U.S. sued the firm for alleged unpaid taxes, although it is a Canadian concern. The company won that suit but the U.S. Treasury Dept. has recently appealed the case, re-opening fresh wounds in U.S.-Canadian relations.

Behind the growing troubles in the north lie these statistics released two years ago by the Canadian government: Since 1945 U.S. investment has been pouring into Canada at the rate of $3,000,000 a day with the result that the U.S. now controls more than half of all Canadian manufacturing. One of every five Canadian workers is employed by a U.S. company. U.S. capital now controls 68% of the oil industry and all of oil transport; 53% of mining and smelting; 76% of auto; 62% electrical apparatus; 54% chemical, 42% pulp and paper.

COLONIAL STATUS: Canadians complain that they are steadily exporting jobs for Canadians and importing products of U.S. workers. Their production is turned off and on to fit U.S. needs, they say. In Canada as in Latin America the fear is that the slump will be the biggest U.S. export in the coming months and that it will hit hardest where the economy has been made dependent on the U.S. Some years ago Ralph Blackmore, financial editor of the **Globe and Mail**, wrote:

"Canada's colonial status is something that was supposed to have disappeared at least a couple of generations ago. Yet many companies operate branches in the same way they would operate a branch in the Belgian Congo or Samoa."

French crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

zled by the role Premier Pflimlin was playing in the midst of the turmoil. As N.Y. **Times** correspondent C.L. Sulzberger said, there was "obviously an extensive plot" led by Soustelle behind de Gaulle's emergence into the limelight. Sulzberger asked:

"Is [de Gaulle] truly neutral? Is it coincidence that Lt. Lucien Neuwirth, military spokesman of the Algerian committee of Public Safety, visited the general just before leaving for Algeria? Is it accident that those who claim to act on de Gaulle's behalf, without his knowledge, should demand that he 'arbitrate' the day before he offers to do precisely that?"

Sulzberger also noted that the Paris police prefect's chief adviser was a Soustelle adherent. Yet Pflimlin called Soustelle's flight to Algeria an "escape" from house arrest and allowed the police prefect and his adviser to retain their positions.

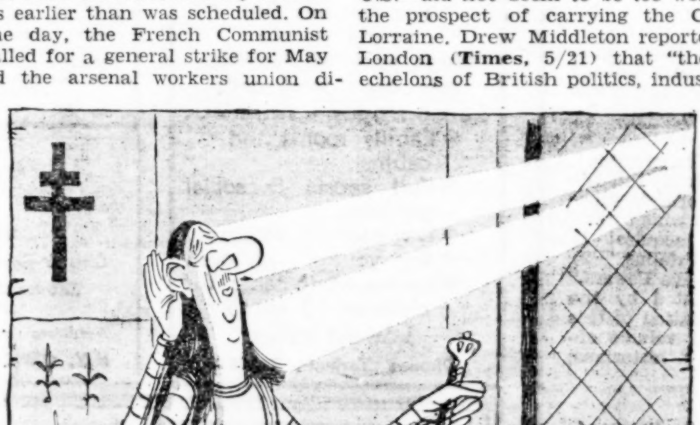
Most importantly, the Premier did not charge Soustelle with any crime; and, as Sulzberger said, "no official from the Premier on down has dared brand the patently rebellious leaders as rebels."

NO DRASTIC ACTION: If Pflimlin really wished to save the Fourth Republic, he would have cracked down on the Algerian rebels before others sprang to their support. Even now a Popular Front government, as the London **New Statesman** said, can force the surrender of the rebels:

"Soustelle and Massu will not yield to anything less than a government determined to use force and backed by the enthusiasm of the working class. Only a government of this type could threaten the dissidents with an economic blockade and full legal sanctions . . . More than one general who is today strutting on the Algiers Forum would think twice before rejecting such an ultimatum and thus risking the court-martial which would inexorably follow failure."

Pflimlin—like most of his colleagues—was more against a Popular Front than against de Gaulle. He has maintained the fiction that the Algerian junta was merely enforcing law and order, and has continued to send supplies and even troop reinforcements to Algeria.

SHOWDOWN NEARS: On May 25, a showdown seemed imminent as de Gaulle arrived in Paris from his country retreat two days earlier than was scheduled. On the same day, the French Communist Party called for a general strike for May 26 and the arsenal workers union directed its members in state arsenals to be ready for "all initiatives and decisions to defend the Republic."



Vicky in New Statesman, London

Pflimlin pleaded with the Assembly to stave off civil war by agreeing to his proposal for amending the constitution to enhance the power of the Executive—the same kind of power de Gaulle advocated. Observers wondered if the Premier planned to resign in favor of de Gaulle after the Assembly amended the constitution; they recalled that Pflimlin promised when he took office that he would resign after accomplishing his purpose of strengthening the Executive.

France's major allies—Britain and the U.S.—did not seem to be too worried by the prospect of carrying the Cross of Lorraine. Drew Middleton reported from London (**Times**, 5/21) that "the upper echelons of British politics, industry and finance [looked on] de Gaulle as the only element capable of reconciling the Central government in Paris and the dissidents in Algeria and thus avoiding either a prolonged period of disorder or perhaps a civil war."

DULLES VACATIONS: Secy. of State John Foster Dulles was reportedly unworried by the possibility of having to work with de Gaulle since, as the **Times** said, he shared the general's dream of reviving "the glory of France." On the day the French workers went on a general strike, Dulles left for a six-day vacation on his Duck Island retreat.

Others in Washington were not as sanguine as Dulles. Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.), for example, said the time had come for taking "a long, hard look" at U.S.-French relations because of "totalitarian trends" in France. Sen. Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) was even more outspoken; he said it was time for U.S. foreign policy planners to "get on top of developments instead of trailing them."

Both British officials and Secy. Dulles seemed to interpret de Gaulle's vague policy statements as concealing policies favorable to the Atlantic alliance. They apparently were unconcerned by the fact that, as the elaborate plot to put de Gaulle in power indicated, behind the general were the unreconciled French investors and settlers in North Africa determined to hold Algeria and even to try to recover lost colonies.

At **Guardian** press time, the situation in France remained highly explosive. Regarding Pflimlin's efforts at a peaceful solution, the newspaper **Paris-Presse** said:

"The Assembly has confidence in Pflimlin, who has confidence in Gen. Salan, who has confidence in Gen de Gaulle, who does not have confidence in the Assembly but expects it to have confidence in him."

Wins deportation fight

The U.S. Court of Appeals May 15 voided a deportation order against Harry Carlisle, British-born film writer, on the ground that the special inquiry officer who presided at the deportation hearings refused to order the government to produce a pre-hearing statement by a government witness. The decision was in accordance with last year's Jencks decision of the Supreme Court, affirming defendants' rights to examine pre-trial statements of government witnesses.

Carlisle, who has lived in the U. S. for 38 years, has fought deportation proceedings for eight years with the assistance of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. The decision involved testimony of a fellow screenwriter, Roy Huggins, that Carlisle had been a Communist. The defense demanded and was refused access to an affidavit concerning Carlisle which Huggins swore he gave to the government prior to his testimony at the hearing.

PUBLICATIONS

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4-RR **"A Personal Jesus"** by Upton Sinclair. After spending more than sixty years studying the subject, Upton Sinclair has written a portrait of Jesus not offensive to those who reject dogma and orthdoxy. $3.50.

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7-RR **"Sexual Symbolism"** (a history of phallic worship). Studies of sexual superstition in ancient times and the Middle Ages. This magnificent volume, profusely illustrated, contains two major historical works which have, until now, been virtually impossible to acquire: 1) Richard Payne Knight's "Worship of Priapus," 2) Thomas Wright's "The Worship of Generative Powers." These works were formerly privately printed by the Dilettanti Society of London. The re-publication of this limited edition of both books in one giant volume offers a hard-to-get item much sought by historians, students, librarians, scientists. $7.50.

8-RR **"Tell The Truth & Run"** by George Seldes. A crusading journalist and former publisher of "In Fact" tells the story of his exciting years in journalism—including never before told facts about his interviews with the dictators. $3.75.

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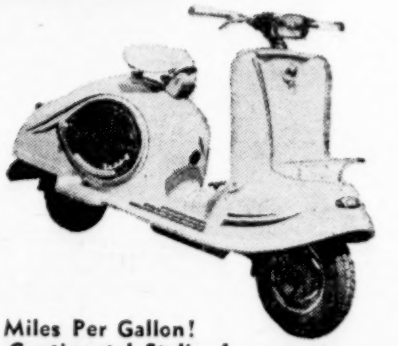

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MARTIN HALL REVIEWS THE NEWS Thurs. June 5, 8:15 p.m., 1251 S. St. Andrews Pl. (2 bl. W. of Western, corner Pico). Don. $1. Special topic: "France at the Crossroads."

Minneapolis, Minn.

SOCIALIST RALLY
Hear Rev. Jos. P. King, candidate for Congress, 2nd Cong. Dist., Chicago, speak for a united socialist ticket! Sat., June 7, 322 Hennepin, Rm. 205 Smorgasbord, 7 p.m. sharp. Don. $1. Meeting 8:30 p.m. Don. $1. Discussion. Auspices: Socialist Workers Party.

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of American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Sun., June 29—all day. Camp Midvale, Wanaque, N.Y. Adm. $1. (Children Free). Bus transportation from Manhattan available. For information write: Room 405, 49 E. 21 St., N.Y.C. 10.

Sunday, June 1, 8:30 p.m.
NO FORUM!

- - - - -

Monday, June 2
6:15—"USSR & Its World Relations"
last in series "USSR Today"
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8:15—"Jean Paul Sartre"
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Tuesday, June 3
6:15—"The Civil War in the U.S."
last in "U.S. History I" series
HERBERT APTHEKER
8:15—"Struggle vs. Imperialism"
last in "U.S. History II" series
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Wednesday, June 4
6:15—"N.Y. Electoral Background"
last in "New York: An Analysis" series
SIMON W. GERSON
8:15—"Socialism & Internationalism"
last in "Path to Socialism" series
HERBERT APTHEKER

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Thursday, June 5
6:15—"Jack London"
last in "Four vs. Oppression" series
PHILIP S. FONER
8:15—"Gorki's 'Mother'"
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Sunday, June 8, 8:30 p.m.
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Speaker to be announced

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JEWISH CURRENTS, — June issue includes: We Will Not Yield by Rabbi William B. Silverman, of Nashville; Chapters from Autobiography of Rose Pastor Stokes; Jewish Champs in Sports, by Lester Rodney; Jewish Heroes for Young Readers by Rachel Lazarus; Discussion on Bar Mitzvah in Parents' Corner; Editorial Comment by Morris U. Schappes. Single copy, 35c; Sub. $3 yr. in U.S.A.; $3.50 elsewhere; trial sub—4 issues $1. **JEWISH CURRENTS**, 22 E. 17 St., New York 3, N.Y.

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THE GALLERY

TWENTY POUNDS OF OFF-BEAT PICTURES with texts were flown to evangelist Billy Graham last week. The material was a gift from fellow evangelist Baxton Sawyer who claims to have a truckload of obscene literature in Arkansas. Graham. who has been subpenaed to testify before a California Subcommittee on Pornographic Literature, claims total ignorance of such matter. Sawyer on the other hand said: "I've been collecting obscene literature for six years . . ." Graham's headquarters said the package would be returned unopened. . . . Bergen Evans, co-author with his sister, Cornelia, of **The Dictionary of Contemporary American Usage** and moderator of the CBS-TV program "The Last Word," has come out in favor of split infinitives, takes a tolerant attitude toward dangling participles and scorns euphemisms. "The trouble with euphemisms," according to Evans, "is that the unpleasant fact is still there . . . and will infect the euphemism. Thus **cemetery**, now frequently replaced by **memorial park**, was originally a euphemism (it means 'sleeping place') for **graveyard**, but the grinning face showed through." How about ending a sentence with a preposition? Random House, publishers of Evan's dictionary, answers: "In some cases, this is grammar up with which the Evanses will put."

1,000 STUDENTS RIOTED recently in Florida chanting "We want beer." The five-hour riot followed a crackdown on selling beer to minors. The lights were turned out in the girls' quarters at the University of Florida to make it impossible for the girls to be seen if they waved lingerie from their windows and thus start a panty raid in addition. Tear gas had to be used to break up the demonstration. . . . More than 100 Jackson College co-eds—beating a rock 'n' roll rhythm on pots and pans and chanting "we like short shorts"—raided two mens' dormitories and emerged with male underclothing attached like flags to sticks. The previous evening 1,300 students at Tufts and Boston Universities in the same area also rioted. . . . The editors of the **Daily Princetonian** have an answer to counteract the effect of the Russians' cessation of nuclear tests. They call upon the U.S. government to make full use of "Madison Avenue private enterprise" techniques to combat the Soviet challenge.

THE FRENCH REPUBLIC has a Robespierre anniversary on its hands (the leader of the French Revolution was born in 1758), and has never found history more embarrassing. For the general public and the right-wing politicians, Robespierre has been the Revolution's bloodiest, most extreme "radical." The legend in many points is not corroborated by the historic facts. Yet today, more than 150 years after his death, Robespierre still has neither a monument nor a Paris street named after him. The only discreet anniversary event so far planned has been a press conferenc by a (strictly university) Robespierre Committee. Publication of the complete Robespierre speeches is slowed down for financial reasons. A near-documentary Robespierre film to be done by writer-director Claude Vermorel has its scenario ready but no money to get started. There are no government funds available for Robespierre. . . . This year International Children's Day, June 1, coincides with the opening of the Fourth Congress of the Women's International Democratic Federation. The WIDF has issued an appeal to the women of the world to intensify their efforts to ban nuclear tests.

The Badge of the Japanese Mothers' Congress

FOREIGN AID TO ZSA ZSA Gabor and Kim Novak is the proposal of Rep. Porter (D-Ore.). At present the U.S. is giving $1,300,000 to Dominican dictator Trujillo in a year while Trujillo in turn spends $1,000,000 a year on the "education" of his son, Gen. Rafael Trujillo Jr. A big chunk of Junior's expense account went to Novak and Gabor. Porter argues that by cutting out the middleman the U.S. could not only reduce the initial expense but get some of it back in taxes from the two ladies. . . . The **Wall Street Journal** reports the major obstacle facing the Defense Dept.'s attempt to streamline the Pentagon's committee network: they don't know just how many committees there are. . . . After viewing a TV news program of the Kentucky state senate that showed her husband sleeping in his seat, Mrs. C. W. A. McCann phoned him and said: "If you don't do any better than that, I'm going to come up there and replace you."

U.S.S.R.-U.S. SCIENCE EXCHANGE has been proposed by the Soviet publication **Znanie-Sila** in a communication to the editors of American science-fiction publications. The Soviet magazine notes that "Science-fiction never clutters up the shelves of book shops in the U.S.S.R." A number of American science-fiction stories have been reprinted in **Znanie-Sila.** But the editors recall: "Some time ago the Soviet people were shocked by the 'fantasy' of the American magazine **Colliers** which elaborated on the topic of war with the Soviet Union in its pages. The readers of our magazine would naturally turn away from such 'fantasy' in loathing." . . . The world's largest solar power station is now under construction in Armenia. It consists of 1,300 mirrors which circle around a boiler in a 130-foot tower and which will generate 2,500,000 kwh. of electricity and 20,000 tons of steam a year.

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PURE IRISH LINEN luncheon cloths, homespun weave in solid colors; Blue, Maize, Turquoise, Peach; 52x52 in. with 4 napkins, **$5.** 52x70 in. with six napkins, **$6.**

JAPANESE LINEN cloths, handkerchief-linen weave in solid colors: Blue, Yellow, Gray and Turquoise. 52x52 in. with four extra large napkins, **$5.** 52x70, six napkins, **$6.**

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the SPECTATOR

Mr. Travel of the year

IN A SOLEMN Springtime rite each year representatives of the Travel Industry ballot for their pin-up. The requirements are simple but stringent. He must be an American who travels but, more than that, he must "help further the cause of world peace and mutual understanding among nations and individuals as a result of his travels."

The Fourth Annual Travel Award was announced early in May. Richard Milhous Nixon, the hero of Caracas who sampled the fruits of South America and left that continent seething with understanding, is the current Mr. Travel. He has been given an illuminated scroll to that effect along with an engraved gold Bulova watch, a lifetime subscription to **Travel** magazine and a lifetime membership in the National Travel Club.

Nixon now joins an odd assortment of past travel award winners: Secy. Dulles, Cardinal Spellman and Danny Kaye who has a genius for mixing well with all sorts.

AT A TIME when the demand for peace and understanding so exceeds the available supply, it might occur to **Travel** magazine to sponsor a road-show of the four globetrotters.

Admittedly Danny would have the most challenging job of his career: to overcome a very difficult supporting cast. Here's Danny skipping down the street of a village with all the kids trooping after him and all the elders of the village sopping up understanding, sure that peace has broken out, when suddenly around a tree they spot the radar antennae of the grim Secretary of State.

Danny must then improvise a moral tale of how kiddies must be nice to elderly ogres. So they timidly approach the Secretary as he shops for souvenirs in an oil field and offer him a seato to rest his military base. And for these small favors he gives tanks.

SUPPOSE Danny, on a skylarking picnic with the children, were to tell them of Prince Charming and from an open touring car the Vice President should step, the flash bulbs of attendant photographers bursting like bombs. Suppose the kiddies had heard the legend of Guatemala and how the sleeping beauty up in those hills was chloroformed while the Prince was posing for pictures, how would Danny keep the kids from spitting? And suppose they were frightened by a runaway geiger counter at an early age and ever since see mushrooms in the clouds? How much can any prince charm?

No one would object to the Cardinal, but the advance preparations he seems to require might discourage a welcoming committee. He won his gold watch by flying to the boys in Korean trenches. Now, there is no village anywhere that wouldn't want to make things cozy for a padre but trenches do tear up a countryside and all the GI's that have to arrive beforehand might make it hard to hear Danny Kaye.

The problem raised by the four travelers is built into the tough standards set by the Travel Industry. It's all very well for a stay-at-home travel editor to hand out watches to people who promote peace and understanding. But as the current Mr. Travel well knows, the more some people understand, the less peaceful they're likely to be.

—Elmer Bendiner

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